



special
collections

DOUGLAS
Library



QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

343
9.
A N

Impartial Account

OF THE

NATURE and TENDENCY

Of the Late

ADDRESSES,

IN A

LETTER

TO A

Gentleman in the COUNTRY.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *R. Baldwyn*, 1 6 8 1.

12.11.1981. 33d

10

An Impartial Account, of the Nature and Tendency, of the late ADDRESSES; in a Letter to a Gentleman in the Country.

SECT. I.

S I R,

YOU are not mistaken in taking it for granted, that I have read the several late *Addresses* to His Majesty, for being the Subject of the chief diversion of the Town, I should have been unfit for conversation, had I not so far consulted them, as to be able, as well as others, to make them the matter of discourse and entertainment among my Friends. But whereas you are further pleased to require my inward and serious thoughts concerning them, I must crave liberty to tell you, That notwithstanding all your Interest in, and Authority over me, you should never have been able to have extorted from me what you desire, did not the Service which I owe His Majesty, and the Government, command more at my hands, than the friendship and deference which I pay you, could have obliged me unto. So that you are to ascribe my compliance with your request, to its falling in with the Fealty and Allegiance which I render my Prince. And the more Freedom, and less Reserve, you

find me to use upon this Subject, you are intirely to resolve it into the Love and Compassion which I bear for the King, who I fear, is not only industriously deluded, but wofully betrayed, by the judgment which some about him pretend to make of the sense and inclination of the People from these Addresses.

SECT. II.

For no Applications of this nature to the *Regnant* person are to be esteem'd of any great weight or significance, if you do but consider the Result of the many Addresses Three and twenty year ago to *Richard Cromwell*, and how they only served to render him secure till he was undermined and supplanted. For of all the *Sixteen hundred thousand* that vow'd to Live and Dye by him, not so much as one man drew a Sword in his favour when he came to be laid aside. I acknowledge, that there is a great difference betwixt an *Usurper* and a *Rightful Sovereign*; yet that detracts very little in the present case from the importance of the consideration which I have suggested: seeing the least that we are to gather from it, is this, That no Addresses contrary to the interest and general humour of the Nation, are to be accounted of any value for a Prince to sustain himself upon. And if there be nothing else to secure our late Addressers to His Majesties service, but there Promises and Protestations in those Papers, he may be as much disappointed should he have occasion to trust to them; as the former Gentleman after the like security was.

SECT.

S E C T. III.

It is astonishing as well as surprizing, that when *Petitions* had been not only discountenanced but forbidden by Proclamation, *Addresses* should so soon after be encouraged and promoted! And our amazement is greatly heightened, when we consider that the *Petitions* were in reference to matters which every body understood, and in relation to such things wherein the Law justified the Petitioners; whereas the *Addresses* respect matters which very few understand, and which the Law noways authoriseth private men to meddle with, and which none save a Parliament have Power or Ability to decide and determine. For tho' men are to be esteem'd capable of knowing their own wants, fears and dangers, and ought to be justified in legging those means of Relief and Redress which the Law hath provided for them; yet every one is not to be accounted sufficiently qualified to determine concerning the Reasonableness and Legality of Parliamentary Proceedings and Resolves; nor is any number of men whatsoever, empowered to Umpire differences between His Majesty and His great Council. And whereas those very *Petitions* which seem'd most peremptory, did nevertheless, with all due resignation reserve to His Majesty his full Prerogative, many of the *Addresses* import no less than the Robbing the Parliament, not only of their Right and Authority to Impeach Criminals, censure Offenders, withhold, as well as give supplies, but of their most essential Privilege, viz. freedom of Debates.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

Nor doth it appear to considering Persons, that any advantage can arrive to the King or Government by them; whereas the mischiefs and inconveniencies which do attend them, are obvious to every one. For what else do they tend unto, or can they be supposed calculated for, but to divide the Nation into factions and parties, and to foment those heats and animosities among His Majesties Liege people, Which are already too great to need to be farther heightened and enflamed. 'Tis His Majesties desire, as well as his interest and duty, to be equally esteemed the Father and Defender of all his people; but these Addressers would possess the Nation, that they only are to be accounted His Loyal Subjects; and that all His favours are only due, and ought to be confined to them: And by threatening the generality of people, that they have forfeited His Majesties affection and care, by refusing to act as they do; they insensibly lessen the love which His Majesty ought to have in the hearts of all His Subjects, and wonderfully abate the zeal which they would otherwise have for his Service. Nor can any say that Petitions have the same Effects, seeing amongst Persons in the same circumstances, some may represent their wants and grievances, without prejudicing or giving offence to those who chuse silently to undergo them. And who knows, but that whilst some think they are to seek their Relief by humble Applications unto, and fervent Importunities of their Prince; there may be others who hope, that their Sovereign may from the sense which he hath of
their

their Calamities, afford them, at last, all the succour he can, without the solicitation of their cries? But the nature of these Addresses being to commend and applaud the present posture of affairs, and to justify most of the steps and counsels by which we have been reduced into this doleful condition; they do in effect declare every one to be peevish and clamorous, that cannot acquiesce and rejoice in this state of things under which we groan and labour. And as they hereby render all those enemies unto them, whose safety and happiness they are conceived, not only to abandon, but destroy; so the very Government, through the characters of Grace and Favour which it placeth upon their Applications, runs a hazard of losing much of its respect and veneration.

SECT. V.

And besides this and many other mischiefs, which they do naturally involve the Government and the Kingdom under; they will be found prejudicial and inconvenient to the King, in the tendency which they have to deceive and abuse him. For whereas they are designed to perswade His Majesty, that what they represent and suggest, is the common and universal sense of his people, and that he may accordingly take his measures; it is both evident in it self, and will be found so in the issue, that they contain and express only the sentiments of a few persons of little interest, and most of them of a very small and mean figure in the Nation. For if Elections of Members to serve in Parliament, be the best standard to judge the disposition of the Kingdom
by,

by, it is not so long since we had an opportunity of feeling the Pulse of the Nation; but that we may reasonably conclude, that all other things remaining as they did, the temper and complexion of the generality of the people, is also much the same. And whensoever His Majesty shall either find himself obliged from the necessity of His Affairs, or from the goodness of His Inclinations be pleased, to call a Parliament, How little will he, upon a disappointment of what he is made to believe and expect, judge himself indebted to those who have so industriously deluded him?

SECT. VI.

And as they are no ways subservient to His Majesties profit or service; so neither will they in the event prove so useful either to a Popish or Arbitrary Design as some do apprehend. Not that any think the King knows of such a Design promoted by them; but there are those who may have ends in this, as in the *Dutch-War* and *Black-Heath-Army*, which His Majesty was not aware of. But tho' some little creatures may have ultimately aim'd at some such thing, by promoting of them; yet such villanous designs are, in charity, to be supposed far from the intentions of most that have subscribed them. And accordingly, when divers of the most zealous Actors in the carrying them on, have been calmly told what were the natural and ill tendencies of them, they have solemnly professed, that they would sooner be hanged at their own desires, than be intentionally accessory to the establishing a Popishical Rule over the Nation, or the enslaving the Kingdom to Popery

pery again. Nay, it is to be hoped, that should either or both these, at any time hereafter, more neerly and visibly threaten *England*, that many of the present Addressers will, in their lawful stations, be amongst the most forward and zealous to withstand them. Nor will they in such a case find any way to expiate their indiscretion, and attoné for their present folly, but by thus demonstrating, that it was no part of their intention hereby to contribute to these things. And should any in the List of the late *Thanksgivers*, be hereafter found to have promoted Addressees with a prospect of introducing either Tyranny or the Papal worship, the names and pretences of Law and the Protestant Religion, which they have not only flourished their Papers with, but made His Majesties promise of preserving them the ground of their acknowledgments, and the foundation of the Tenders which they have made of their Lives and Fortunes, will entail an everlasting infamy upon them, and render them the objects of all mens contempt and indignation. And in the mean time, the jealousies and fears which some are said to have conceived of a Popish and Arbitrary design at the bottom of the Addressees, do by quickning the watchfulness of the Nation, serve not only to countermine, but to give them a total disappointment therein.

S E C T. VII.

Nor yet in the next place, is the number of the Subscribers so considerable, as to bear any proportion to those who are against them. For tho' a few busie people have made a great noise and buz in several pla-

ces of the Kingdom, yet all of them put together, make not so great a number as we have seen not long since to one Petition for a Parliamant. So that it is matter of wonder, that the Government for its own reputation hath not in some publick way prohibited and forbid them, and especially when it finds, that after all the neglect and scorn which the Addressers are exposed unto for their paucity and fewness, yet they have not the discretion to forbear and desist. Sir, you must needs have observed by reading the *Gazett's*, where you have the Inventory of them, that almost all the Counties, and the most principal Cities, such as *London* and *Tork*, and the chiefest *Towns* and *Corporations* have forbore and declined presenting any. And I may add, that even where they have been obtained, not *One* in *Ten*, and in some places not *One* in a *Hundred* had any hand in, or gave concurrence to them. For if it be allowed, as in justice as well as modesty it ought, that whosoever have either avoided or refused subscribing, are as truly to be judged against them, as they who have positively withstood, or directly opposed them, then the *Tale* of the Addressers will make but a very small show and appearance in the muster Roll of the Nation.

S E C T. VIII.

And this is the rather to be taken notice of, and doth the better evidence what opinion the people have of them, if you consider the means, ways, arts and methods that have been used and taken to advance and promote them. For besides that most of the Clergy, and many in the present Commissions, both Civil and Military

Military, as well as several of the Magistrates of Corporations, have not only interested themselves in countenancing, but been sickers for them, as for the great *Charter* or *Petition* of *Right*: The Grace and Favour with which they have been received, and the marks and characters of honour which have been conferred upon divers that presented them, who for ought the world knows, had no signal matter else to recommend them, were very proper means to have procured an universal and national application. And yet neither the influence of those who pretend to prescribe unto the understandings, as well as to direct and conduct the Consciences of men; nor the authority and advice of those, to whom all are willing to pay a respect and obedience, in whatsoever their Interest, Religion, and the Law will suffer them; nor yet the hopes of Titles and Honours, which some merely for that service have, in the truest sense, been loaded with, have been effectual to prevail with, or bring over any great or valuable number to joyn in them. And should I tell you what other Arts have been pursued to obtain men to Address, you would say, that either a sullen crossness, or some more generous principle had possessed the Nation, that persons should every where so generally refuse and withstand them.

SECT. IX.

And if you more narrowly enquire into the condition of those that are engaged in the Addresses, you will find their quality for the most part as inconsiderable as their number. The greatest part of those who

B 2

have

have given thanks for Dissolving Parliaments, are such as either for want of years, or poverty, were never capable of giving a Vote in Election of Members to sit in them. Setting aside Two or Three, or a few more in a Town or Corporation that have embark't in them, the greatest part are made up of the scum and refuse of the places where they live. *Norwich*, whence we have been alarm'd with the greatest noise, yields but a small number of persons either of estate or usefulness, whose hands were annexed to the Paper which was sent up.

S E C T. X.

Nor is the moral condition of the Addressers, disagreeable to their civil: For not to mention, that those who are most Popishly inclined, have enrolled themselves among the first in the respective Lists and Subscriptions, several others of them are such who were formerly either in the number of Abhorers of Petitions, or guilty of one offence or another which the last Parliaments were about calling them to an account for. And wheresoever there is either a little bankrupt Tradesman, a scandalous and disgrac'd Attorney, one whose necessity exposeth him to be biased by Crusts of Bread and Pots of Ale, any whose folly makes them pragmatical and impertinent, or whose prodigality and ambition forceth them to look for preferment beyond their merit, these are infallibly in the front of the Addressers, and the unwearied and industrious procurers of thanks to His Majesty for Dissolving Parliaments. So that for many of them, their manners are such, that did the King but truly understand what Character they pass under

under where they are known, he would esteem it a reflection upon His Honour, and an aspersion upon the wisdom and equity of His proceedings, to be either approached or thanked by them.

S. E. C. T. XI.

And for their Politicks, they are in most of them proportionate to their morals, and agreeable to the condition which their birth, education and fortune have stated them in. For can any man believe that the *Mayors, Headboroughs, Aldermen, Bailiffs, Burgeses and Freemen* of *Rippon, Wigan, Windsor, Chatham, Haslemere, New-Sarum, &c.* are competent judges of what the late Houses of Commons did legally or illegally? of what is according or contrary to the Laws and Customs of Parliament? or what is agreeable or disagreeable to the fundamental constitution of the Land, which as well limits the Prerogative of the King, as fixeth the Rights, Liberties, and Authority of Lords and Commons; when almost all the *Ancients and Benchers*, and most of the *Barristers*, as well as *Students* of the several *Inns* of Court have declared that they are things above them, and which they have neither power nor ability to make a determination concerning? Surely the Learned *Gentlemen* of the *Gown* are at least as well qualified to give their sense and opinion about these matters, as Country *Mercers, Innkeepers, Taylers* and *Thatchers* are; and yet those refuse to meddle with Addressee, as referring to things which appertain not unto them, whilst the latter make themselves Arbitrators between the King and Two Parliaments, and from their profound wisdom pass
sen-

sentence against their Representatives. The Gentlemen of the Long-Robe have besides their Loyalty, wherein none dare pretend to outstrip an exceed them, as great obligations arising from interest to have sway'd them to accommodate themselves to the wishes and desires of the Court in this matter, as any persons in the Nation have; and therefore it can be nothing but their knowledg of, and their value for the Laws of the Kingdom, with the Reverence which they are ever resolv'd to maintain for Parliaments, that could have made them oppose Address'es, and thereby venture the displeasing those, to whom they owe, and from whom they expect so much. Nor will Twenty thousand Hands to Address'es from Country Corporations, make that impression upon the minds of modest and thinking men, as their being cast out and refused by the *Bencher*s, and *Barristers* of the *Inns* of Court.

SECT. XII.

Having thus far acquainted you with my freest and most Natural thoughts in General about them, it is time now that we more nearly inspect and pass our Judgment upon the matter of them: And if I mistake not, the Presuming to give His Majesty Thanks for *his Promising to Govern by Law*, is no less than a Disloyal and gross Reflection upon him. For will not some men hereupon think that he hath Administered some just ground of fear or Belief, as if he intended to govern Arbitrarily? Or doth it not insinuate that he is so unconfin'd, that if he please he may do so? Or may we not say, that it plainly Intimates, that the best security
which

which we have to rely upon why he will not, is His Royal Word in his Late Declaration? It doth unbecome English Subjects to thank their Prince for Promising to Govern by Law, seeing as he never did, so he cannot do otherwise. His Ministers may act illegally, and they are Lyable to answer for it; but he can do nothing but what the Law Directs and Justifies. Nor is he only bound to this by his Coronation Oath, which is however a more Sacred and Solemn tye than a Promise in a Declaration; but his own Greatness, and his very Prerogative, as having their own Foundations in the Law, oblige him to it. For as *Bracton* says, *Rex habet superiorem Legem per quam factus est Rex*, Lib. 3. de Act. n. Cap. 9. sect. 3. And therefore that *Lex frangum est Regis potentia*, The Law bounds and limits the King's Power. Nor can he, says *Fortescue* De Leg. Angl. Govern his People by any other Power, than the Law. And as *Bracton* expresseth it, (*ubi supra*) *Rex nihil potest, nisi id solum quod de jure potest*; The King can do nothing, but what he can do by Law.

SECT. XIII.

But you will the less marvel at their returning His Majesty thanks for promising to Govern by Law, seeing the Tenor of all the Addresses is to intimate, That all the Right or Claim which we have by Law, in our Lives, Liberties, or Estates, is dependent upon His Majesties Will and Pleasure. This all of them suggest and insinuate, and some of them do very fully express. What else can be meant by their thanking His Majesty, *For his unparalleld Grace, Favour, and*
Good-

Address from Chatham. *Goodness, in purposing to continue to them their just Rights, Liberties and Properties. And for His Resolution, that (notwithstanding many Provocations) yet His Majesty will Govern in all things according to the Laws of the Kingdom. And for his Princely Purpose, never to invade the Liberties of his Subjects. And that he hath declared, He will never use Arbitrary Government.* Do not these and all the other Addresses imply, That tho' the Laws speak of Rights, Liberties, and Properties which belong unto us; yet they are not so secured unto us, but that His Majesty, were it not for the just and gracious Temper of his Nature, might invade and destroy them? And is not this to sacrifice, as far as in them lies, *Magna Charta, Petition of Right, and our Statute and Common-Laws*, to the Sovereign Will and Arbitrary pleasure of the Prince? Whereas, thanks be to God, the King can neither disseise a man of his Liberty, nor break in upon his Property; but we are enabled to relieve our selves in His Majesties Courts. Nor are these men, for all their seeming to abandon Themselves, Lives, Liberties and Properties to His Majesty's Will, to be too much trusted or relied upon by His Majesty, should he be tempted contrary to his Duty and Inclination, to offer at any thing Illegal, considering how unjustly clamorous they have been against the House of Commons, *For their Illegal Votes and Orders, and usurping upon their Persons and Estates. For Tyrannizing over their Fellow-Subjects. For their Arbitrary Proceedings in the two last Parliaments, and their Unlimited and Illegal Imprisonments, and their Messengers exorbitant, exacting, pretended fees contrary to Magna Charta.* For if they be so heated and transported against their own and the King-

Addr. from
 the Western
 Division of
 Suffex.
 Addr. from
 Exon.
 Addr. from
 Norwich.

Kingdoms Representatives, when very many wise, learned, and indifferent persons, and who are as jealous of the least invasion upon the liberty and property of the Subject, as any in the Nation, think that the House of Commons did nothing in all the Cases that are with so much warmth and resentment reflected upon, but what they both might and ought to do by the Laws of the Land and Parliamentary Presidents; Is it to be imagined, that they would very tamely loose their Lives, or suffer themselves to be silently dispossessed of their Estates, at the sole and indisputable pleasure of the Prince?

SECT. XIV.

And whereas by all the Addresses they testifie with what approbation they have received His Majesties late Declaration; it is too plain, that thereby they intimate their Satisfaction in the Dissolution of so many Parliaments. Nay some of them expressly *publish their unanimous consent and delight therein.* And others return *His Majesty solemn thanks for giving his two last Parliaments such timely Dissolutions.* Had these people the discretion and modesty which might become them, they would have esteem'd themselves very improper and insufficient Judges of the prudentialness of that exercise of Royal Power. And this is the first president that ever *England* saw, of any Commoners giving His Majesty thanks for dismissing Parliaments. For tho' some of our former Kings have, upon Misunderstandings arisen between them and their Parliaments, abruptly Dissolved them, and Published very weighty Declara-

D
tions

tions in Justification of what they did ; yet whatever Submission the people yielded to what these Princes had done, or how seasonable and justifiable soever they in their own minds believed it, they never Addressed these Monarchs in a way of Thanks for doing of it. And tho' possibly the last Long Parliament, was through its long Sitting, esteemed a great grievance to the Nation, and too many of its Members judged easily manageable for betraying the liberty of the Subject, had they been powerfully tempted thereunto, and tho' His Majesties Dissolving them was entertained with an Universal joy, yet none had the folly to thank him for it, as knowing of what fatal consequence such an action might afterwards prove. And whether the many acknowledgments which some have returned the King for Dissolving Two such Parliaments, that for what appears by their Printed *Votes* and *Debates*, were filled with Men of as great integrity and ability, as well as Gentlemen of as great Estates, as have in any age met together in the great Council and Senate of the Kingdom; do become those that are well-wishers to the Protestant Religion either at home or abroad, or such as have duly considered the present state of the Nation, and the many dangers with which it is encompassed, may be worthy of their most serious thoughts, when they are at leisure to look back upon, and examine what they have done. Surely those men, who at the same time thank the King for promising to Govern by Law, never considered that it is both a fundamental Law of the Kingdom, and much of the soul and life of all our Laws, not only to have frequent Parliaments, but have them permitted to sit to dispatch the affairs of
the

the Nation. Nor can they be supposed to have seriously weighed how when the Kingdom seems in so much danger from an aspiring and formidable Neighbour, our Religion and Lives so greatly in hazard by the hellish conspiracies of the Papists, our Allie's in so much need of countenance and assistance, that the King, tho' never so well inclined, as we will always believe His Majesty to be, cannot without the concurrence, aid and advice of a Parliament, do any thing that may effectually answer those weighty, importunate and loud calls. For what can His Majesty be conceived able to do in such circumstances, when he hath neither power over the Purses of his people, nor can so much as command the *Militia* of the Nation to march out of their respective Counties? But that which these Addresses imply, which is yet of more dangerous importance, is that the very Being of Parliaments doth wholly depend upon the will & pleasure of the King. Whereas such a supposal is inconsistent with the constitution of the Kingdom, does no way comport with the ends of our Government, and might prove very dangerous to the safety and happiness of the Nation, in case we should hereafter have a King void of compassion to, and regardless of the interest of his people. For tho' it be left to the Wisdom of the Sovereign where he will have Parliaments to Assemble, and belongs to His Prerogative to call them when his own Princely occasions, or the necessities of his people do require; yet the Law which His Majesty is sworn to observe, it being a part of His Coronation Oath, *Tene-re Leges & consuetudines Regni*, doth both provide that we shall have *Annual* Parliaments, and by directing the ends for, and the affairs about which they are to meet,

4 Ed. 3. cap.
14.

36. Ed. 3.

doth cap. 10.

doth at least imply something of their continuing to sit till those affairs be accomplished, and the said ends compassed and obtained. Nor will His Majesty be ever induced to believe that he can be thought to Govern according to Law, without calling Parliaments whensoever the distresses and grievances of His people bespeak and require them. Neither is it to be imagined that he should long harbour any such thought in His Royal breast, That he can answer the directions and ends of the Law, without permitting Parliaments to sit such a convenient season, as that they may in conjunction with His Majesty, relieve the people from their manifold fears, redress the numerous and sore grievances of the Nation, and provide for the safety, strength, and honour of the Kingdom.

S E C T. X V.

In the next place, All the Addressers seem to be fram'd towards the expressing a willingness in the People, that the Duke of York should succeed his Majesty. And this they insinuate a readiness in the Addressers to further, without the least desire to have any provision made before-hand for the Security of the Protestant Religion, or Save-guarding the Lives of such as profess it, under the Reign of one that is a known and violent Papist. For whilst the Addressers are pleased to say, *That it is the Kingdoms Interest to continue the Succession in its Due and Right Line*; And take upon them to thank his Majesty, *For his unalterable Resolutions to preserve the Crown in its due and Legal course of Descent; and undertake to sacrifice their Lives to preserve*

Addr. from
the County
of Somerset.
Addr. from
Cambridge,
Ripon, West-
ern Division
of Surrey.

serve the Kings Heirs and lawful Successors. And offer Addr. from Hertford.
their Lives and Fortunes to his Majesties Disposul for this Addr. from Minmouth.
purpose ; All people do sufficiently understand what they aim at, and that the meaning of all this is, That they would have the Duke of York come to the Throne. But I wish they had shown so much Ingenuity and Candour, as to have taken notice and acknowledged, that all His Majesties Subjects are as tender of the Preservation of the Monarchy, and as zealous to have it continued in the Royal Line, as any of themselves dare pretend to be. For it is more than probable, that nothing so much influenced the bringing and pressing the *Bill of Exclusion*, as a regard to the Preservation of the Monarchy ; which some of the best, wisest, and most Loyal of His Majesty's Subjects think the coming to have a Popish King may shake and endanger ; especially considering what this Nation felt from the last Papist that possessed the Throne ; and how it hath been of late, and still is threatened by the Bloody Conspiracies of the *Romish* Party. Besides, it had not been amiss, if our late Addressers had owned, that the King, Lords and Commons have a Power to dispose of the Succession, as they shall judge most conducive to the Safety, Interest and Happiness of the Kingdom ; and that he is His Majesties Heir and Successor, upon whom the whole Legislative Power shall think meet to settle the Inheritance of the Crown. Nor would it have misbecome men professing the *Protestant* Religion, and tender of *English* Liberties, to have recommended to His Majesties second Thoughts and maturer Advice, what three several Parliaments have with so much strength of Reason insisted upon, and with so much earnest-

earnestness pursued and desired. And I wish they were able to tell us what they mean, when at the same time that they engage to defend the *Protestant Religion*, they vow, *to the last drop of their Blood, to stand by the next Successor*; And the rather, because there is some reason to believe, that many of them will not be over-forward to dye Martyrs. It would be also some satisfaction to be instructed, how they think *to defend the Crown*, in the Preservation whereof they pretend to be ready *To sacrifice themselves and all they have*; seeing by being willing to admit a Papist to be King, they consent to the robbing it of the *Supremacy*, which is one of the brightest Jewels in it. However it is some comfort, that one end of setting on foot and carrying on these Addresses, being to make a *Survey* and obtain a *List* of all that were for the *Duke of York*, they do not upon the *Musters-Rolls* appear so many as to endanger the Nation in a *Civil War*, in case the King should hereafter so far comply with the humble Requests of his People, as to be willing to pass the *Bill of Exclusion*, if tendered to him by a future Parliament.

SECT. XVI.

But besides what is already said concerning the *Quality* and *Design* of the said Addresses, there is this farther tendency in them all, namely, to insinuate to the Nation, that we have and enjoy a sufficient *Security* for our Religion, Lives and Liberties. For as if it were not enough to acknowledge, as all His Ma-
jesties

jecties Liege-people do, *His Majesties Ease, Just, and most Gracious Government since His Restoration; and to testify their sense of the Felicity and Happiness which all His Majesties Subjects have most comfortably enjoyed under a most Regular, Gracious and Peaceful Government: They* are pleased further to add, that His Majesties Promise in his late Declaration, *Of adhering to the Laws of the Land, and making them the Rule of his Government, is not only sufficient to allay all mens Fears and Jealousies, remove the Misunderstandings of all well-meaning and reasonable People, and give us all possible assurance of enjoying the greatest Liberty and best Religion. that any people in the world have; but that no greater Security can be had or hoped for, in order to the enjoying our Religion, Liberties and Properties, than His Majesties Royal Word to Govern by the Laws.* Whereas not only four Parliaments have represented and declared the manifold Dangers by which our Religion, Lives and Properties, are threatned and encompassed; and how difficult, if not impossible it is, to preserve and secure them from the Designs that are laid against them; but the King also hath been pleased to signify the same; and that as well in several Proclamations published for the informing of His People, as in divers Speeches to His two Houses of Parliament, whose Advice He both thereupon required; and also that effectual Laws might be made for the obviating and preventing those many Mischiefs and Dangers that are impending over us. And if the King's hitherto governing by Law, hath not been sufficient to discourage our Popish Enemies from Conspiring our Destruction; Can it be apprehended, That His Majesties *adherence to the Laws* for the future, will

Addr. from
 Derby, and
 from the Mi-
 litary Offi-
 cers of *Surrey*
 Addr. from
Bristol, and
 from *Devon*.
 Addr. from
Lynn Regs.
Clifton, Dart-
mouth, Har-
ness; Grand
Inquest of
the County
of Oxen,
Bristol, &c.

will remove the Jealousies, and allay the Fears which we have of the Papists? Besides, tho' His Majesty is always to be supposed resolved and inclined to Govern by Law, yet there want not too many Instances, wherein His Ministers that are trusted with the Administration of Justice, have to the great prejudice of the Subject, and the Alarming the whole Nation, failed in their Duty. Our dreadful Apprehensions do not proceed from any ill Opinion which we have of the King, but from the implacable Hatred which the Romish Faction bear as well against Him, as His Protestant Subjects; and from the Corruption of those Officers of Justice, who do either abuse or pervert the Law to base Ends, or hinder its due and Legal Execution. Nor is it our having good Laws, but their being truly executed, that will advantage and relieve us; and therefore we are to be pardoned tho' we profess our selves doubtful of our security by them, whilst some that have been entrusted with the administration of them, are suffered to escape the punishments which they have deserved for obstructing their course, and for perverting of them. And what if we should with all thankfulness acknowledg, that we are in some security during His Majesties Life, will the Laws which we have, without some farther and more effectual provision before His Majesties Death, contribute much to our safety, when we shall hereafter have a Popish King to Reign over us? But can these men be supposed in earnest, when they tell us that the Nation is in no danger, while the Papists continue so active to extirpate the *Northern Heresie*, and are in a more hopeful way to effect it than ever? Alas! the Popish Plot, instead of being defeated, is not so much

much as yet throughly detected : And instead of the Papists being dismay'd by that discovery which hath been made, or by the justice which hath been inflicted upon some of the Criminals, they are only inflam'd to prosecute their divelish conspiracy with the greater vigour, and to execute what they intend with more bloody rage. Can any man that is not void of common sense believe, that we are safe and out of danger, when every true Protestant is in daily hazard through their Sham-plots, and by their hiring and suborning vile and execrable Villains to Swear Treason against those that have any zeal for our Religion and Civil Liberties? How can we be supposed arrived at any measure of Safety, when there are an Hundred things absolutely necessary to be done towards our preservation, wherein the King tho' fully disposed *to adhere to the Laws*, is in no capacity to meddle, without the assistance and concurrence of his Parliament? And therefore if men will after all that they have seen, felt, heard and read of a damnable Popish Plot to destroy the person of the King, overthrow the established Religion, and enslave the Nation to an Antichristian forraign Power, flatter themselves upon a bare Declaration, that His Majesty will *Govern by Law*, that thereupon all is safe and secure, they must not take it ill if they be thought accessory to their own and the Kingdoms ruine through their dull and blockish incredulity, to say no worse.

S E C T. XVII.

Another ill tendency of most, if not all the Addresses, is the reviving the memory of the late unhappy troubles,

bles, which is the interest both of His Majesty and the whole Kingdom to have buried in perpetual oblivion. For the mentioning of that War with reflection and bitterness, serves only to make men remember three hasty Dissolutions of Parliaments, and Twelve years want of one, with some other things which fell out in that space, all which both preceded and had too great an influence towards the causing of it. Besides, there was a Massacre of the Protestants in *Ireland* by the Papists there, and a bloody War commenced for the extirpation of the English Government in that Kingdom; which as it too much exasperated the minds of men towards that unhappy War which begun here, so I fear the upbraiding men too much with their concern in those troubles, will not prove very useful to the party that appears most forward in it. Nor is it easie to be imagined how the mention of the late War comes to be brought upon the Stage at this time of day, seeing most that were believed either the first fomenters of, or proved afterwards Actors in it, are dead and gone; and for their Children (witness many of the most violent and high flown Clergy) they are commonly found to be of Principles directly contrary to what they were. Nay, that which renders all reproachful Discourse of that War at this juncture still more strange, is that the ignominy and *odium* of it is designed to fall upon many of the chiefest of those that served under the Banners of the late King, or upon such who sprung from them that did, and have their Fathers loyalty mixed with their blood. And to deal plainly, I know nothing that can so plausibly justify the Parliaments Cause in that War, as the telling the World that there was little or

no difference betwixt their Principles and the Principles of those that set in the Two last Parliaments, whose actings the Addressers do with so much indecency brand and asperse. And the language that is dayly bestowed upon the Members of these late Parliaments, as being men of the same complexion that they of the Parliament Forty one were, will, instead of leaving any reproach upon them on whom it is intended to be fastned, beget a better opinion of those to whom they are compared, than the Addressers would be willing that they of this Age should find reason to entertain. I may add, that none have lived more peaceably, and with better submission, under His Majesties Government, than they who were engaged on the Parliaments side in that unhappy War; and therefore it doth not seem an act of any great prudence to discourage them in their obedience, by upbraiding them with that, which the Law hath not only pardoned, but which they have expiated by their loyalty since. Nor do I think that when the Parliament, after the Kings Restauration, made the Act of *Indemnity*, wherein among other things enacted which they judged necessary towards the Settlement of the Nation, they prohibited, under a Penalty, one man's reproaching another with his being concerned in that War, during the space of three years after the date of the said Act, that ever they intended, that men should afterwards with the greatest Licentiousness and Scurrility upbraid one another with it. Nay, they hop'd, that if the Spirits and Tongues of men were so long bridled and restrain'd, their Animosities would be wholly extinguished before the expiration of that time. And none but men of very implacable Spirits would

call over, and with so much *Satyr* asperse men for these things; especially when there hath not been the least cause administred for it: unless it be, that such have a greater tenderness and value for the Protestant Religion and *English* Liberties, than to desire they should come to lye at the discretion of a Popish Prince, as the Addressers plainly wish they may.

SECT. XVIII.

As our Affairs are now circumstanced, and as the state of the Protestant Religion stands at present in *England*, the Addressers carry another ill Design in them, which is, to enflame differences further among our selves, and thereby betray us into the hands of Popish Adversaries. For as if the principal thing we were to aim at, were not the preserving our Religion against the Conspiracies of the Papists, and as if the united strength of all Protestants were not little enough to effect and obtain it; no less will serve most, if not all of the late Addressers, than the Executing the Laws with the utmost Severity against Protestant Dissenters. And as if there very thinking of a Phana-tick had made them *delirous*, they will not allow the Parliament to make the least abatement in the terms of Conformity, or to give Indulgence in, or dispense with one Ceremony; though all the *Ceremonies*, and the present *Form of Worship*, and the very *Hierarchy* it self, can plead no other Authority by which they are enjoined, or by which the Subjects of this Land are bound to comply with and submit to them, but some Acts of Parliament. Nay, so little do the persons, that have

have Subscribed the Addressees, understand the Interest of the *Protestant* Religion, as now by Law established, that they would not have an Act to be repealed, which may under a Popish Prince, and in case Popery come to be set up, prove as fatal and mischievous to them that are at this time the Conformable Clergy, as it will to the Dissenters; tho' at present it do only reach and be applied to the latter. And that I may not seem to impose upon them, Is not all this the full and plain import of their joining *Popish Recusants* and *Seditious Sectaries* all along together? Of their affirming *Fanatical Parties* to be as dangerous as *Popish*? Of reckoning up the *pernicious* endeavours of the *Sectaries*, in consort with the Devilish Designs of the Papists? And as if this were not sufficient to declare what they mean, they not only take upon them to thank His Majesty, *For not passing Limitations or Nullifications of such wholesome Acts as were designed for Preservation of the Reformed Religion, especially the 35th of Queen Elizabeth, and for not suffering that Law, and others made against Conventicles to be Repealed: but they humbly pray His Majesty, that those Laws now in force, may vigorously, speedily and equally be put in Execution against all Papists and Protestant Dissenters; And particularly, that the Statutes of the third of King James, and the five and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeth may be put and continued in their due Execution.* It is something strange to find a company of men so zealous for the Protestant Religion, when divers of them are the Disgrace and Reproach of any Religion which they take upon them to profess. But can we believe that they are Protestants, or at least that they understand the Protestant Interest,

where

Address
from Ripon.
Addr. from
Salisbury.
Address
from Clifton,
Dartmouth,
Harness, &c.
Addr. from
Norwich.
Addr. from
the Western
Division of
Surrey.
Address
from Nor-
wich.
Address
from Ripon

who represent Dissenters as equally dangerous to the Government & Established Religion, as the Papists are? It would administer a ground of too ill an Opinion of our Supreme Rulers and Publick Ministers, should they allow and approve what these men have suggested. For are there any among the Dissenters, that have sworn Obedience to a *Forreign* Power, that they should be thus put into the same List of dangerous persons to the Government with the Papists? Or is there any Security that the Legislative Power can require of them for their Peaceableness, that they are not willing and ready to give? Yea, Is not the Religion of the Dissenters established by Law, as well as that of the Conformists, tho' there be some things Ordained, as the Accoutrements and Modes of the National Religion, which the Non-Conformists cannot submit unto. For as the only Foundation upon which the Dissenters go, is that their Faith and Worship are agreeable and according to the Scripture, which is the alone Rule of the mind of God to all his People, in what they are to believe and perform: So from the Authority which the Scripture hath allowed unto it by the Law of this Land, and by the Consonancy of their Doctrine to the Establish'd Articles of Faith, they humbly conceive that they have the countenance and warrant of the Law for their Religion. Nor doth the Law disallow or forbid any thing which they profess; it only enjoyns some further things, which they cannot come up to. And as the Dissenters do not oppose any one Doctrinal Article of the Church of *England*, so they blame and judge no man for the Canonical Obedience that they promise to the Bishops, or their Conformity to the

the Ceremonies; but merely beg that themselves may be excused. And should they be gratified as to all which in our present circumstances they do desire, it would amount only to this, That they may Preach the Gospel without being liable to Imprisonment, Fines, and Banishment. Nor do they covet Ecclesiastical Preferments, or Parochial Maintainance; tho' were it not for some things, which are made the *Tests* to those Places and Advantages, and which without any Inconveniency might be laid aside, there are many of them that are as worthy of them as others. Neither can that which is stiled the Church of *England* suffer any diminution in the number of its Members by an Indulgence to Protestant Dissenters, having both *this will I give thee*, and thus *saieth the Magistrate* on their side, unless the Clergy should fall short in Abilities for their Function, and in having *Thus saith the Lord* to plead for them. But how dare these persons, who have subscribed the Addresses, assume the confidence to censure Parliaments, for going about to repeal Laws, which by woful Experience have been found not only useless, but inconvenient, both to the Protestant Religion, and the Safety of the Kingdom? For as Parliaments have Power to Enact Laws, so they have the same Power to Abolish them, whensoever they find, that instead of answering the Ends which they were made for, they have proved prejudicial to the Common Good. And surely one may humbly say, and that without the least Reflection upon the Grace and Favour with which the Addresses have been received, that two Parliaments, so fairly and unanimously chosen, and consisting of Gentlemen of the Chiefest Quality, best Parts, greatest

Wis-

Wisdom, most plentiful Estates, and firmest Integrity to the Interest of Religion and the Nation, and all, except a very few, Zealous Sons of the Church, and unfained Defenders of the present Hierarchy, Discipline, Forms and Rites of Worship; were in all probability as able and likely to know what will let in or keep out Popery, what will preserve us from, or betray us into the hands and power of the Papists, as Twenty or Thirty persons in a County or Corporation, most of whom are not worth Forty Shillings Freehold a year, and many of them not able to speak Ten words of sense together. But it is easie to conjecture who in divers places set these Addressers at work, and who put that inference to Protestant Dissenters into so many Addresses, namely, either persons Popishly inclined, that they might thereby continue and heighten our differences, and make us the more easily a prey to *Rome*; or some ignorant Clergy-men, who besides their enmity at Phanticks, have little else to recommend them to the obtaining a common and civil respect, but their *Cassock* and their *Surplice*.

S E C T. XIX.

And as if all this that I have with the greatest sincerity and justice represented unto you, were not enough to blast the credit of the Addresses, and to oppose the weakness and folly of such as have subscribed them; there is something yet further, and which is infinitely more pernicious that they pursue and aim at, namely, to possess His Majesty and the World with a belief, that there is a design carried on by Protestants against the
King

King and the Government. Hence they not only thank His Majesty *For recollecting the several steps and advances by which we were betrayed into our former confusions ; but take upon them to observe, that there are some ill men who labour the subversion of our Religion, Liberties and Properties, under the specious pretence of Reformation, being the same method that they brought to pass all the miseries of Usurpation and Tyranny that this Kingdom lately groan'd under ; and that being seasoned with the old leaven of Common-wealth Principles, they have endeavoured to make a misunderstanding betwixt His Majesty and his people, and to throw us back into the same confusion we were delivered from by His Majesties happy Restauration ; and that not only the good order and quiet of the Government hath been most wickedly attempted to be disturbed and shaken, but to be overthrown and utterly subverted, and the very Monarchy it self to be destroyed.* Surely had these persons who presume to suggest this unto His Majesty, known any Republicans or Fanaticks, who by possessing the people with groundless fears and jealousies, would bring us into Anarchy and confusion, or that would subvert the known Laws of the Land, wherein our Religion, Liberty and Property are wound up ; they ought by their Allegiance to have deposed against them, and given in their names, that they might be prosecuted and come to suffer according to the greatness and quality of their Crimes. But alas ! this was a Province they durst not undertake, and the attempting it would have too palpably laid open their Folly, and exposed their malice. And because many have been drawn to set their hands to Addresses, who do not well understand whence this clamour of a Presbyterian Plot proceeds, I shall briefly unfold the mystery that lies at the bottom of all this loud and groundless noise. The Papists being charged with a Hellish conspiracy against the

Addr. from Southwark.

Addr. from Bristol.

Addr. from Reading.

Addr. from Derby.

Addr. from Monmouth.

Addr. from Ludlow.

Addr. from some in the Middle-Temple.

Addr. from the Deputy-Lieuten. &c. of Somerset.

person of the King, our Religion, Government, and the lives of all His Majesties Protestant Subjects; and this being proved against them to the satisfaction of all the rational part of mankind, as well by their own Papers, as by the Testimonies of many unquestionable Witnesses; and finding that neither their impudent denying it, nor their falsely scandalizing some, and endeavouring to debauch and corrupt others of the Kings Evidence, could either bring them off from the Scandal of this Plot, or free them from the Punishment, which were a Parliament permitted to Sit, more of them must undergo; they retreat to this as their last refuge, namely, the amusing the Nation with the Buz of a *Presbyterian* and *Phanatick* Plot, carried on to overthrow the Government, and destroy the Monarchy, under pretence of prosecuting a *Popish* Conspiracy. And towards the obtaining credit to this, they not only form'd the *Intrigue* of the *Meal-Tub*, but invented the Shams of Sir *Edmond-bury Godfrey's* murdering himself, and my Lord *Howard's* penning *Fitz-Harris's* Libel; which tho' they have shamefully redounded upon themselves, yet having no other game to play, they are still labouring, partly by suborning Witnesses, and hiring impudent Rascals to swear Treason against Protestants, and partly by a groundless and impudent clamour, to infect unwary and heedless persons with the persuasion of such a design. And it is from the Papists that weak and credulous people have taken the scent of a Presbyterian Plot, and ascribe it to His Majesties Wisdom and Sovereign authority, that we are not relapsing into the miseries and confusions of Tyranny and Usurpation, by the subtle artifice and cunning contrivances of the old enemies of the Monarchy and the Church, who by the insinuations of Religion, Liberty and Property, prevail, upon weak and unvary men to make them

Addr. from
Eye in Suffolk.

them subservient to their factious and ambitious designs. Surely, these men never considered what a notorious scandal they have hereby endeavoured to fasten, not only upon many of His Majesties peaceable, best and most loyal Subjects, but what a vile aspersion they have cast upon the whole Kingdom, which greatly suffers in its honour, by standing represented in the face of all the World, as broken and divided within it self, and sinking back again into all confusion: Nor have they duly weighed what a Reflection they lodge upon the Kings Government and Conduct, that He who was so lately Restored by the unanimous Consent, and with the universal Joy of all his People, should in so few years have lost the Love and Reverence of so great a number of His Subjects, as are intended here to be accused. Can there be any thing vented to the diminishing His Majesties Reputation more abroad, and for discouraging Forreign Princes and States from entring into those Alliances which are necessary for the good, as well of His Majesties Kingdoms, as of Christendom, and for the lessening the expectation and confidence which those with whom we are in League, ought to remain possess'd with, of our being able to answer the ends of them, than this account which these men present His Majesty with, of the posture of the Nation, and temper of his People, and which our *Gazettes* have diffused into all Countries? And doth not this also directly tend to the filling His Majesties Protestant Subjects with Jealousies one of another, thereby to take them off from their watchfulness over, and to weaken their endeavours against the Papists, who labour no less to destroy the Dissenters, than those that Conform to the National Form of Worship, and to the Established Discipline and Ceremonies.

and for the withstanding of whose Bloody Designs, and saving our Religion and the Nation from the effects of their malicious and desperate Conspiracies, the united Hearts and Hands of all true Protestants will be found little enough? And will not this Character, which the Addressees are pleased to give of the state of *England*, wonderfully embolden that aspiring Monarch, the *French* King, to proceed in his encroachments upon the Dominions of his Neighbours, as judging himself secure from any check which the King of *Great Britain* can give him? For as His Majesty can be in no capacity to discourage him from further Attempts against the Peace of *Europe*, or to hinder his Conquest, but by being great in the Hearts of all his own People, and in a happy Correspondence and Conjunction with his Parliament; so we have reason to fear, that they who endeavour to beget Misunderstandings betwixt His Majesty and his Subjects, and to create in them mutual Distrusts each of other, are either Pensioners to *France*, or under the Conduct and Influence of them that are.

SECT. XX.

But as if it were not enough for those persons, who have subscribed the Addresses, to fasten so vile a charge as you have heard, upon many of the people, whom the better to reconcile credit to what they say, they are pleased to call *Republicans* and *Fanaticks*, they have also taken the boldness to involve the Two last Parliaments under the guilt of the same crimes and accusations: Accordingly they tell His Majesty, *with what an infinite patience and condescension, he did submit to hear unreasonable jealousies promoted in them, illegal courses and proceedings vindicated, and all the great and most benign Indulgences of their Sovereigns goodness misrepresented.* And they thank the King, for His steady resolutions of maintaining the Rights

Rights of the Crown, &c. against the Arbitrary Proceedings of the House of Commons in the two last Parliaments; And for not Signing such Bills as were prepared for His Majesties Subjects to associate to destroy the Succession, and extirpate Monarchy. Yea, they profess Their Admiration of His Majesties Princely Wisdom and Council in the conduct of his Affairs, in obviating (viz. by Dissolving Parliaments) the Designs of the pernicious Enemies of the Church and State. And declare, That they cannot but admire His Majesties Transcendent and Sacred Wisdom, which in that dangerous and confused juncture, did so seasonably interpose, and so calmly suppress the threatening Flames which were breaking forth. And thereupon they present their Acknowledgments to His Majesty, For timely preventing (by Dissolving those Parliaments) the Designs of Ill men; who in the same Age were a second Time attempting by the same Methods as formerly, the destruction of His Loyal Subjects, the diminution of his Lawful Power, and the debasing the Grandeur of the English Throne. I know not by what Name these false and slanderous Accusations charged upon two Parliaments, ought to be called; but it is to be hoped, that the next Parliament will at once tell the Nation, by what name the Law styles them; and what Punishment it hath allotted for those that have made themselves Guilty of so vile and scandalous an Aspersion, as that two Parliaments had gone about to destroy the Protestant Religion, as Legally established, and to extirpate Monarchy: Whereas those excellent persons, of which the two last Houses of Commons consisted, had many of them ventured their Lives, and lost their Estates for the Monarchy; and all of them were such, as upon Principles of Reason and from Inclination are true Lovers of it. They not only had too late and sad Experience of a Commonwealth, to be fond of returning to it again; but they know, that no other Government can agree with the Genius of the People, and suit the ballance of the Nation, but a well-Regulated Monarchy, such as ours is by the Laws of our Constitution. Nor can His Majesty be supposed to believe, that ever they will prove true to the Monarchy, who are not true to the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament. For they who can revile and despise one Essential part of the Constitution, have nothing to oblige them to adhere to the other, but the prospect of Preferment, or worldly Gain. And to see men countenanced, that revile any one

Addr. from
Norwich.

part of the Legislative Authority, may be too ill a president, and which His Majesty is obliged to see redressed, from the Love that he beareth to the Crown. For whosoever strikes at Parliaments, does by undermining the Government as by Law Established, shake the very Pillars of the Throne.

SECT. XXI.

Nor do they only intimate a Design carried on against the Government, but they insinuate a Change to be made by Force; and upon that supposal, while we are in, and to the apprehensions of all sober persons, likely to continue in perfect Peace, they offer their Lives and Fortunes to the disposal of one part of our Legislative Constitution and Power, in opposition to another. *We yield, say they, our Lives and Fortunes at Your Majesties Command, and will to the last drop of our Blood, and Penny of our Fortunes, stand by your Majesty in the Defence of Your Royal Person, Crown and Government, and Lawful Successors.* So that by reading the Addresses, one would be inclined to think, that these men construe the King's Declaration, as the Erection of the Royal Standard; and that they intend these Papers for the Muster-Rolls of those that are to fight under His Majesties Ensigns: But as we hope that His Majesty will never have occasion for War, unless it be in relieving his Allies abroad against the Ambition of *France*, who to all his other Invasions upon the Dominions of his Neighbours, is at this time about employing his Forces against the Subjects of His Majesties Kinsman, the Prince *Palatine*; so we hope, that both in that Case, and in any other, wherein His Wisdom and Justice will suffer Him to engage, He shall not only have the Treasure of all his People, through the Gift of a Parliament, at His Command; but all their Persons and Lives ready to be Sacrificed in His Service. It is no marvel that such thirst after War, who have little to live upon in Time of Peace, and who may expect to be Gainers by Troubles: But His Majesty, who besides the care He is to have of the Lives and Estates of all his Subjects, hath more to lose Himself alone, than all his People, will not, I judge, be prevailed upon to hearken to rash and heady Counsels. And how unequal ought they to apprehend themselves to the Body of the Nation, who when they have had the Folly and Confidence to present an Address in the Name of a whole County, have at the same time acknowledged, That they were

Addr. from
Worcester.
Addr. from
Bristol.
Addr. from
Cardiff.
Addr. from
Abermouth.

not able to carry it for any that His Majesty might be inclined to recommend, to serve in the next Parliament for the Shire. Addr. Com.
Bedford-shire.

S E C T. XXII.

The last thing I would observe concerning the Addressees, is their making small numbers of men without previous advice had with each other, and without being authorised or entrusted, to judge of the State of the Kingdom. For tho' it be lawful for any one man, and much more for any number of men, to represent to His Majesty their own wants and dangers, and accordingly beg redress and relief; yet to declare the State of the Nation, belongs to no number of private persons whatsoever, but appertains only to the Parliament, as being the Representative of the whole Kingdom. And therefore the Addressees, by assuming to themselves a Right and Authority to determine about the State of the Nation, and to judge concerning those things which the *Trustees* of all the people met in the great Council, are only proper and by Law allowed to meddle with, have in my apprehension made too near an approach to the altering the whole Government. And as they must expect that the judgment which they have passed upon persons and things will at one time or another come under a review; so matters which have either been misrepresented by them, or in reference to which Parliaments have been arraigned, may before then, come to be so well understood by His Majesty, and all things so well adjusted between him and his people, that the Addressees may neither find themselves able to decline, nor be in a condition to controll the jurisdiction of the next Parliament, to which we shall at present leave them.

S E C T. XXIII.

But whereas you may be ready to enquire, that if the Addressees be so pernicious, both in the subject matter and tendency of them, and so contrary to the general sense of the Nation, as I have declared; why the people do not by Petitions from all parts of the Kingdom let the King know so much? This I shall return you a just and true answer unto, and then discharge you from any further trouble.

1st. It is the nature and temper of some men most to disserve the cause, and prejudice the interest which they have espoused, when they are quietly let alone to run their course and to take their full swing. For according to the old Proverb, Give some people

People Rope enough and they will Hang themselves. The only way to know what they would be at, was for others to look silently on a while. And through giving them scope, their own madness and folly hath made them more ridiculous, than any opposition whatsoever from others could have rendered them.

2dly, The Petition first from my Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and the Common-Council of London, and then from the Common-Hall, is a Copy of what all the Nation would say. In London, as in a Glass, we see the face of the whole Kingdom: For being the *Epitome* as well as *Metropolis* of the Nation, whatsoever it says, is a compendious expressing of the sense of *England*.

3dly, Men have been willing to forbear Petitioning, lest by the disparity in the numbers to Petitions and to Addressees, some, thinking all safe through the consideration of the multitude that aimed at what themselves did, might grow more secure than their dangers will well allow; and lest others upon the same inducement might have taken occasion to grow more insolent than their duty and interest obligeth them unto.

4thly, His Majesty having received the Addressees with that favour which he did, wise men thought it best not to administer occasion of his refusing Petitions that they foresaw would come accompanied with more hands. It is good manners in Subjects not to grate too hard upon their Prince; but if he have done any thing wherein they can't acquiesce with that contentment which they desire, to give him time and liberty to recollect himself.

5thly, If Petitions shall be judged either necessary or convenient, it is not so late but that they may be yet set on foot. And if it should prove uneasy for any to find it so, they must blame themselves, who by their unwearied carrying on of Addressees, make it needful for His Majesties good Subjects at last to undeceive him, which they can no other way do, at least till a Parliament come, but by Petitions. I am,

SIR,

Your most ready and
Humble Servant.

June 28. 81.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 8. l. 19. for *was*, r. *is*. p. 9. l. 3. del. *that*. p. 14. for *an*, r. *and*.
p. 21. l. 12. after *bringing*, add *in*. p. 32. l. 24. for *oppose*, r. *expose*



